VOL. VI. No. 1
FIVE CENTS

4220

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1918

...n by Nina E. Allender

Will You Make 1918 Safe for Democracy?

JK1880 .S8 (v.6-)

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

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Notes of the Week

Democracy's Intentions

GOVERNMENT officials, the press announced last week in connection with the putting in of a freighter at a Pacific port, have discovered a world-wide plot of the revolutionists of various countries to overthrow "the existing social order."

"No objection will be raised by the government to any agitation which does not interfere with the progress of the war," the New York Times declared in the name of these same nameless officials. "Officials do not intend to use the war exigencies as an excuse for suppressing free speech except in so far as it leads to hampering the government. . . . American officials do not care to appear to resist the development of democratic ideals."

"Extreme care is being taken by this government," this paper adds with superb naivete, "to avoid antagonizing the Bolshevist movement in Russia."

American officials perhaps do not care to appear to resist the development of democratic ideals. That was why the picketing campaign that put their blocking of woman suffrage up to them proved so annoying. When they put suffragists in prison, however, they did appear to resist these ideals, and it was not the women asking justice who interfered with the progress of the war but the Administration's denial of democracy to them. It is probably true that these officials have put thought into their relations with the Russian revolution. It even begins to look as though they have been educated to applying a little to the women's revolution at their own doors.

Echoes of the Opposition of '76

AN interesting document dated 1776 has been discovered by War Department officials in their search of the records of Harfords County, Maryland, in connection with perfecting title to the new army proving ground, which sets forth the names of fifteen citizens of the region who refused to sign the Declaration of Independence. The document reads in part:

"Benj. Herbert Jr. refuses to sign through religious principles.

"Michael Boser don't sign by reason he signed before.

"Thomas Gilbert don't sign by reason he don't choose.

"Thomas West don't sign by reason it is a mystery to him.

"Philip Cummins don't sign by reason he don't understand the matter.

"John Clark don't sign by no reason he can give.

"Ephraim Arnold don't sign for fear it would fetch him in a scrape.

"Samuel Gallion says if he should sign he may fetch on himself that he cannot go through.

"Isaac Penrose don't sign for reason he don't choose to fight for liberty and never will."

Records of reasons given by Congressmen who refuse to vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment will prove as interesting reading to future generations.

Women and War Industries

A RECENT issue of "The Official Bulletin" published by the Creel Bureau of Public Information outlines a plan being put into effect by the Department of Labor to simplify the problem of substituting women for men workers needed for war service, as well as the placement of wage earners made idle through industrial changes. Included in the plan is the transfer of the United States Employment Service from the Bureau of Immigration to the Office of the Secretary of Labor. The work of the various employment bureaus throughout the country will be centralized.

The importance of women in industry is further testified to by the appointment of Miss Hilda Muhlhauser as assistant manager of the newly organized Employment Service of the Department of Labor. Miss Muhlhauser had made intensive studies as well as practical investigation of the woman labor question, and is a believer in suffrage as a necessary factor in solving the problem.

Women and the War

SECRETARY of War Baker told a recent meeting of women that if all the women in America were to stop doing the work they are doing, we would have to withdraw from the war.

"We would at least have to withdraw," said Mr. Baker, "until we could bring about the entire reorganization of our social and industrial structure. The industrial contribution of women in this war, not consciously contributed to this war, but their contribution to industry in this country, is a thing which could not be withdrawn, so that one of the demonstrations that this war is making is that men and women are essential partners in industrial and commercial civilization, in any modern civilization, and that the democracy which will satisfy anybody's heart and mind to emerge from this war is one which recognizes the rights of all persons in that society."

Chinese Statesman a Feminist

HSIEH Tehyi, of Peking, has come to the United States from the Republic of China as one of five trade commissioners sent out through the world from that country on a mission for trade relations. In his first interview on landing he made a statement about Chinese women that lights up the growth of feminism in China. He speaks of his country as entering a new era swiftly. With the thorough awakening of China, he said, would come the emancipation of her women.

"The regeneration of China must come from within. It must be brought about by native Chinese educated abroad, their eyes opened to the civilization of the outer world, who shall return to China and devote their energies to modernizing the Chinese people. When this shall be done, the Chinese will send their daughters abroad to take their places among the enlightened women of the world."

Such a statement of the part women have in the coming world is still rare on the lips of the statesmen of Western democracies when sent on missions to foreign countries.

Women in Hungarian Parliament

A FRANCHISE reform bill was introduced in the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament late in December by the Minister of Justice. This bill gives the vote to every Hungarian citizen, man and woman, who is twenty-four years old and is able to read and write. It provides as well for the election of women to Parliament.

The movement for franchise reform has been swift in Hungary in the last months. In May Count Tisza, the Premier, told working-men demanding universal suffrage that their demand was "frivolous." The demand ended in a great general strike. Tisza's cabinet was forced to resign. On June 28 twenty-five thousand men and women marched through the streets of Budapest calling for universal, equal and secret suffrage at once. The police could hardly scatter the mobs that gathered. The new ministry under the liberal Esterhazy promised reform, and to include women, but only with property qualifications. The Hungarian Feminist Union resolved to fight for universal suffrage or nothing. The present bill backed by the government proves again as in the case of the United States, how far a government may be pushed in a short time by determined lovers of democracy.

Woman at Peace Conference

ONE of the Russian delegates at the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk is a woman, Madame Bizenko, according to a dispatch from London.

Russian women throughout revolution and changing governments have consistently taken their places in the lead of affairs. Russian women have not been "granted" suffrage; they have not been "given" places in cabinets and on organizing committees. They have stepped directly to the front with a spirit that cannot be denied and that wins instant room for itself in government.

The Suffragist

Editors
Miss Pauline Clarke Miss Vivian Pierce

Associate Editors
Miss Lavinia Dock Mrs. Gilson Gardner Miss Pauline Jacobson

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department
Advertising, Miss Rebecca Hourwich *Mailing,* Miss Dorothy Bready
Circulation, Miss May Condon *Office,* Miss Therese Olzendam

Subscription: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies, 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the Uni ed States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
On the calendar awaiting a vote.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Vote in the House

ON January 10, just forty years to a day from the time the suffrage amendment was first introduced in Congress, it is scheduled to come to a vote in the House of Representatives. This will make the second time the measure has been voted upon in the House, the first having been in 1915 when it received 174 votes with 204 against it, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds. Today the resolution stands an excellent chance of passage, and if it does not command the two-thirds required, success is so near at hand that it can be delayed but little longer.

The strides which have been made even in the short time since President Wilson began his first administration, are such as to convince friends and foes alike that the battle is nearly over. When President Wilson was elected five years ago, the enfranchisement of women by national action had not come upon the horizon as a matter of practical politics. It had not been mentioned by any party, not even by Socialists, Progressives, or Prohibitionists, in the presidential campaign. Suffrage for women was discussed, but their enfranchisement by a federal amendment was not broached. Mr. Wilson, immediately after his inauguration, stated that the enfranchisement of women was a matter to which he had given no thought and upon which he had no opinion. Congress was equally oblivious of the question. The measure had not even been reported out of committee in either House for almost twenty years. Suffragists themselves had become resigned to working for it state by state. In despair of obtaining national action they had even closed their headquarters at the national capital. The passage of the federal amendment was not considered an immediate practical possibility by Administration leaders, by Congress, or by suffragists.

Today, after five years of indefatigable campaigning for the national amendment, including the organizing in its support of the steadily growing political power possessed by women in the states; and the emphasizing to the national government by processions, mass meetings, demonstrations, and finally by the historic picket line, the determination of women not to be governed without their consent, suffrage has been forced into the national political arena. In the last presidential campaign one of the two issues on which the election was fought in the suffrage states was the national enfranchisement of women. It has become a subject which Washington is always thinking about. The President told a delegation not long ago that the question was daily pressing upon him for reconsideration. Congressmen are now protesting that it is pressing upon them to the exclusion of other business. Since the regular session convened in December, scarcely a day has passed without suffrage coming before Congress in one form or another.

Suffragists in reviewing this progress during the last five years, await the result of the vote with serenity, believing that a measure which can move with such speed has on its side the trend of the times, and knowing that if it should be blocked at this moment it will not be for long—that the agitation which has brought the movement this near to success can soon bring it to its final conclusion.

Congress Courts Susan B. Anthony

By Florence Brewer Boeckel

THE two great political parties are rivals for the honor of passing the federal suffrage amendment—while all the lesser parties are scrabbling to be in at the successful finish! And it has been to jockey the amendment into exactly this position of belle of the political ball that every activity—every demonstration, every leaflet, every penny—of the National Woman's Party and of the Congressional Union has been directed for four years.

It means that the amendment is going to pass unless there comes definite opposition from the administration or the kind of deliberate indifference that permits a measure to come to vote when too many of its friends are absent.

THE Republican side of the House with more than the necessary two-thirds vote pledged is already blaming the Democrats for possible failure. The prevailing Republican sentiment is expressed by Representative Dowell, of Iowa, who said to a lobbyist yesterday, "We will give your resolution enough votes if the Democrats will only do their part." Republican whip McArthur writes the Woman's Party, "The amendment will have my unwavering support." It is now hoped that Republican Leader Mann, who has been ill in Johns Hopkins hospital, will be able to return and give the measure his active help.

On their side, Democratic leaders are warning their members in the words of Representative Hilliard, of Colorado, that "any considerable opposition may prove harmful to Democratic candidates in some parts of the country."

Prohibition Leader Hinshaw is admonishing Prohibitionists to do their part so that if the amendment fails "it will be through no fault of the political organization first to champion it."

Labor men in the House since the amendment was endorsed by the Federation are not only voting, but working for it.

Representative Nolan, of California, said recently, "I am working for the passage of the amendment with everyone whom I think opposed. I shall do all I can to assure its passage. I think it stands an excellent chance."

CONGRESSMEN have come to realize that to sit in their chairs and say a "yea" for suffrage is not enough. "There are no suffragists nowadays but missionary suffragists to heathen anti-colleagues," complained one congressman, restive under much lobbying.

Members from suffrage states are approaching their New York colleagues with the argument that it is their duty to vote for the resolution since their state has declared for the enfranchisement of women. This or another argument has won practically every man in the New York delegation. The last two to change from opposed to favorable are Representative Snell, member of the Rules Committee, and Representative Snyder. Edmond Platt, of Poughkeepsie, is the one New York man still openly declaring he will vote "No."

THAT the development of Republican support is arousing the Democratic side of the House is evidenced by a letter Representative Hilliard, of Colorado, wrote Mrs. William Kent, December 28, in which he says in part:

"As a friend of suffrage, wishing only its advancement, I am naturally gratified that so many Republican members have announced their purpose to vote for the amendment. I am hopeful that my Democratic brethren may not be blind to the party psychology of the situation. Any considerable opposition from Democratic members would, I fear, prove harmful to Democratic candidates in some portions of the country, while general support would temper the political wind just enough, mayhap, to make sure of continued control in the House of Representatives."

Another indication of the way the Democratic wind blows is the fact that members of the Cabinet are one by one making public avowal of their support of the constitutional amendment. During the congressional recess the Secretaries of War and of the Navy have declared themselves in unequivocal terms.

WITHIN the last two weeks thirty members—twenty-one Democrats and nine Republicans—who voted against the suffrage amendment in 1915, have declared that they will now support it. Many others have changed their position since the adjournment of the last Congress. Their reasons are various. Several have been influenced by the war.

Representative Linthicum, of Maryland, says that he has always felt that women were sufficiently represented, but that with such large numbers of men going to Europe, that argument is no longer valid. Representative Benjamin Fairchild, of New York, has been much impressed by the argument that in this time of war it is necessary to settle all questions causing unrest and friction. Representative Francis, also of New York, feels it is necessary to bring harmony throughout the United States and to free women for their war responsibilities. Representative Paige, of Massachusetts, formerly opposed, said before he left for the holiday recess, "I am going to reconsider the question of woman suffrage seriously while I am on my vacation, and perhaps the Christmas spirit will help me to change my mind."

HERETOFORE the South has always been made the political scapegoat for the delay in national suffrage. This excuse, suffrage leaders claim, no longer holds. The endorsement of Speaker Clark is having great influence throughout the South, and the passage of the Prohibition amendment has converted many of the few remaining states' rights men. Representative Linthicum, of Maryland, a strong states' rights man, now says that since the Prohibition vote he feels that he must reconsider his position on woman suffrage. The Arkansas delegation is a unit in favor of the amendment. Several members from Virginia and from Missouri have changed their positions from opposed or non-committal to favorable.

THE Suffrage Committee in the House started woman suffrage the day Congress reconvened. All but two of the fourteen members favor the amendment, and they are very desirous of sending in a favorable recommendation for it, although it has already been reported out of the Judiciary Committee.

Representative Raker, of California, chairman of the committee, has asked the National Woman's Party to gather statistics and arguments for the conversion of doubtful members, refuting the idea that the enfranchisement of women will complicate the race question, and showing the difficulty of amending state constitutions. Mrs. Alice Park, of Palo Alto, California, is compiling the facts the committee desires on these questions.

ON picking the right day for Congress to vote on the federal suffrage amendment may depend the fate of that measure and of the thousands of women committed to work for it until it succeeds.

January 10th, the date now proposed, is being hotly argued for and against by the members of the House Woman Suffrage Committee and leaders of the suffrage parties. Defenders of the tenth declare that enthusiasm is so great that nothing can kill the bill short of direct opposition from the administration and that it is better to get it up before other business crowds too fast upon Congress. Those who argue against a vote early in January state that there will be too many friends of suffrage absent at that time. Several Western members will not be present, and all but one of the present vacancies in the House means the loss of a friend to the amendment. The four New York vacancies, for example, when filled in February, will probably mean four suffrage votes. It is pointed out that if as many "yeas" had been absent when the prohibition vote was taken as there will be if suffrage is voted on January 10th, that amendment would have failed.

Two members of the House who have joined the army, La Guardia, of New York, and Johnson, of South Dakota, are both friends of the federal amendment, but will be unable to vote, since although their seats have not been declared vacant, they are off the Congressional payroll.

THE fact that at the beginning of 1918 and on the eve of a vote in the House, the suffrage situation is more hopeful than it has ever been is not a matter of good fortune but of hard work. The pressure that is being brought to bear by their constituents and by the leaders of their party who in turn are constantly being urged to use their influence, is showing every day in the conversion of members. This work must go on until the last vote is called, for we may find ourselves in the position of having lost the amendment through one vote—a vote that a little extra effort or our part now could secure.

It is a thought to calm one at this moment of exciting hope and to renew energy.

The Economy of It

By Olympia Brown

(Suffrage Pioneer with Susan B. Anthony)

WOMAN suffrage has been argued at great length from the ethical and political standpoint. The advantage to the state and the nation and the individual have all been shown in various ways again and again. But at the present time when women have full suffrage in thirteen states, when five or six million women are voting, it is evident that the complete enfranchisement of women is inevitable. As they say popularly, "It is bound to come."

The question now is the practical one of deciding how it is to be accomplished,—whether by state or by national action. The shrewd business man seeking to accomplish an object first counts the cost. He seeks the quickest and the cheapest way of doing it. He does not pay $80,000.00 for what he can get done for $800.00. Now, as every one knows, the cost of state campaigns carried on to win the votes of the electors is very expensive. From $20,000 to $700,000 per state has been spent in campaigns already held. Even if it were possibel to win all the states, the cost of it in money would be at the very least some $80,000.00, while the expense of securing the indorsement of the amendment by the legislatures should it be passed, would be comparatively trifling.

These are days of conservation, when economy is urged on all hands, especially by our government. Why should we not save money and the time and labors of our women by passing the Anthony amendment at once? The woman suffrage controversy has continued in one way or another since Mrs. John Adams at the time of the formation of our government entreated her husband "not to forget women in his law making," until today when millions of women from the East and West, from the South and the North are reiterating for the thousandth time the same old request.

AND now, at last, we expect that the 65th Congress will honor itself and crown the government of the United States with glory by casting a two-thirds vote for the amendment. And this will be not merely a matter of sentiment or disinterested patriotism or philanthropy, it will mean economy and conservation of wealth, the saving of time and money. It will be practical politics, it will be "good business."

The 10th of January has been set for the day when the vote is to be taken. At that time the halls of Congress, in which have so often been heard the grandest sentiments for liberty that tongue has ever uttered or pen has ever reported, will, we trust, respond to a vote for woman suffrage that will make real all the great sentiments that our statesmen have ever uttered in the past, will fulfill the promises that have been made to women in the last fifty years and make significant the beautiful descriptions of democracy which in recent times have delighted the world. The amendment will complete the work begun by the Declaration of Independence and make our Constitution a charter of liberty for the whole people.

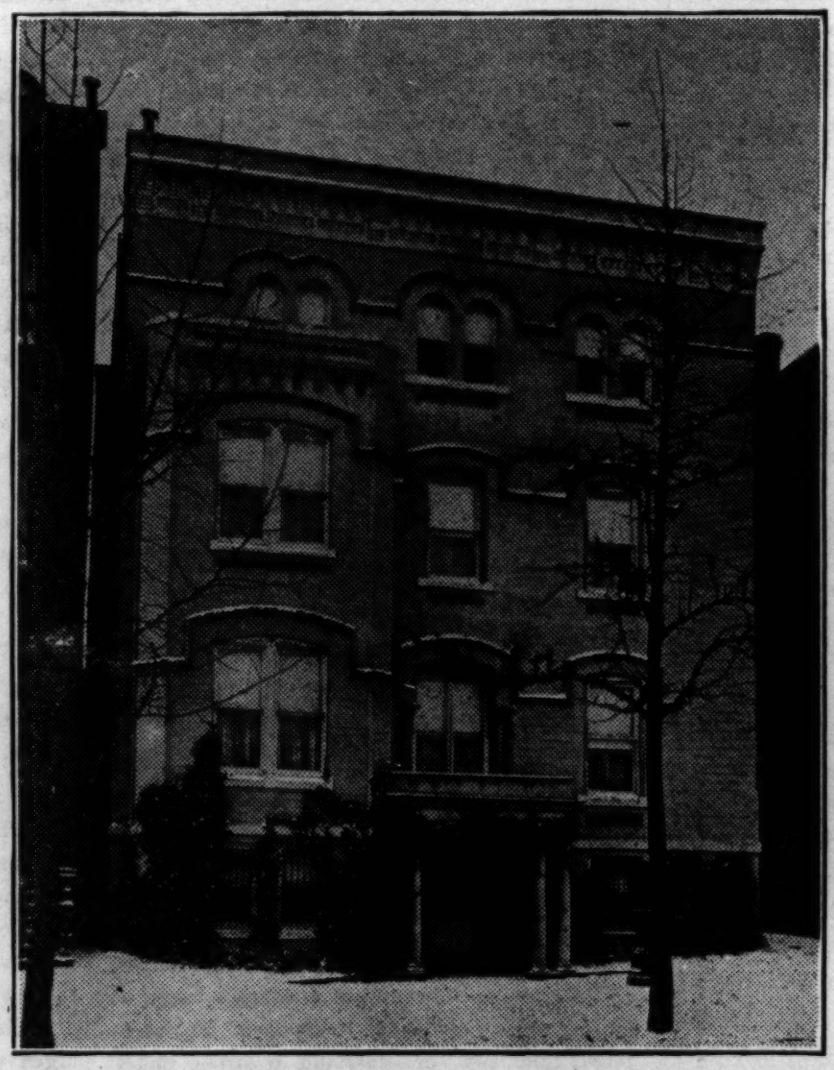
That is our hope. Can we realize it? A few days remain. They must be days of work and prayer and the most earnest and strenuous endeavor. Let each one do what she can. Every word spoken now will help the cause and will be, so far, a power for righteousness.

National Woman's Party Moves Across Lafayette Square

EARLY in February the National Woman's Party will take up its new headquarters at 14 Jackson Place, just across Lafayette Square from the old headquarters in Madison Place, from which it moved the first of December when the house was sold to the Cosmos Club. The new headquarters, on the left-hand side of the Square on which the White House fronts, is one significant block nearer the Executive Offices than the old ones.

The Woman's Party has signed a lease for its new house for two years, for the work of the ratification in the states will be conducted from the Washington offices after the passage of the amendment through Congress.

The temporary headquarters of the Party, a house on Connecticut Avenue just off the Square, has proved so inadequate even for the offices necessary for carrying on the work, and accommodations in hotels, apartments and boarding-houses are so difficult to find for the workers and visitors who are at headquarters in increasing numbers, that the coming change into large and convenient quarters will greatly increase the efficiency of the Party in this busy winter.

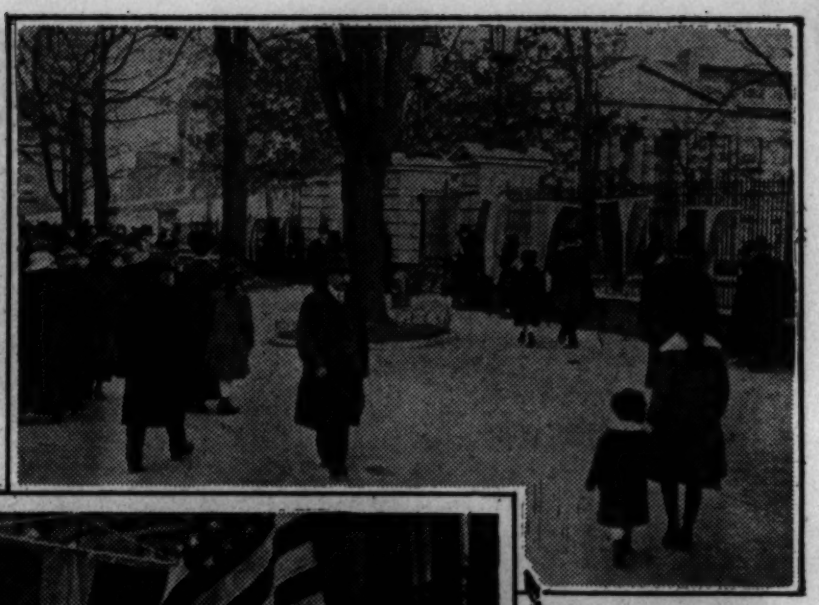


New Headquarters of Woman's Party

The new house, which has been occupied by the Home Club of Washington for the last five years, is excellently adapted to the needs of the National Woman's Party. Its four floors offer plenty of space for the many offices, the bedrooms and drawing rooms that are needed. And it contains as well a small auditorium that seats about three hundred people, for the small conferences and meetings that are held at headquarters. The fine old house whose dignified doorway stands out in a block of fine houses, many of which are now used by the government for various departments, is a worthy successor to Cameron House for the Woman's Party headquarters.

The rent for the next two years will be raised by Mrs. William Kent, of California, and her committee of 200 for the maintenance of national headquarters. Among the members of this committee are Mrs. William H. Blauvelt, of Syracuse, N. Y.; Mrs. George T. Hendrie, of Detroit; Mrs. A. H. Bright, of Minneapolis; Mrs. George H. Day, of Hartford, Connecticut; Mrs. Christian Hemmick and Mrs. Harvey Wiley, of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Joseph Fels and Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York; Miss F. M. Stirling, of Texas; Mrs. Rosella Bayhi, of New Orleans; Mrs. Henry Justice, of Philadelphia; and Mrs. Edward Morris, of Chicago.

Among the largest contributors to the rent fund are Mrs. F. R. Hazard of Syracuse, N. Y.; Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mrs. Edith Evelyn Hanan, of New York City, each of whom have given $1,000; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, who gave $4,000; and Mrs. William Kent, who gave $2,000.



Line Leaving Headquarters on Woman Voter's Day

White House Picket in January
Alice Paul and Mrs. Richard Wainright on Guard

Passersby That Saw the Picket

The National Woman's Party in 1917

The Campaign of the White House Picket

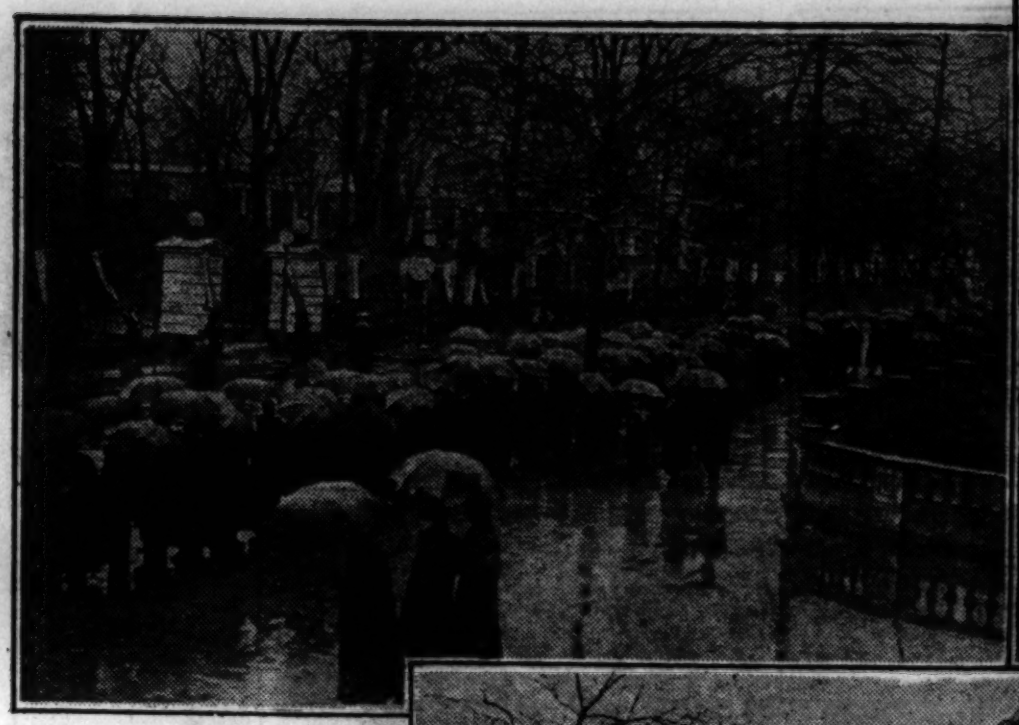
DURING 1917 the National Woman's Party has brought to a crisis its four-year fight for the federal amendment by picketing the White House. Hundreds of women standing at the White House gates brought straight home to the Democratic Administration the blame for holding up national suffrage.

One result of this new method of fighting was 213 arrests and 105 prison sentences for women who dared ask the Democratic Administration for democracy. The other result is—the amendment hurried to a vote at the outset of the new session of Congress with every hope of its passage.

THE National Woman's Party sent out its first picket of the White House on the 10th of January, 1917. On the day before, a great delegation of women took President Wilson memorials on the death of Inez Milholland Boissevain asking that the waste of women in the suffrage struggle be put to an end by the passage of the amendment. The President, who had kept the amendment out of Congress all his first term and had written his own state suffrage endorsement in his 1916 platform, reproved the women for opposing his re-election and said he was the follower, not the leader, of his party and could do nothing unless his party gave the order. "You must concert the public opinion in this country in behalf of woman suffrage," said he and bolted out of the room. The women who knew that suffrage in this country had reached the political stage where its success depended on the word of the President as the head of the party in power, determined to focus the responsibility on President Wilson.

The next day twelve suffrage sentinels confronted the indifferent Mr. Wilson with purple, white and gold banners of the Woman's Party and two yellow banners asking, "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" "Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" From one side of the United States to the other, into every country of Europe, the press flashed the news that American women were demanding national suffrage. The President has never since that day been able to ignore the issue.

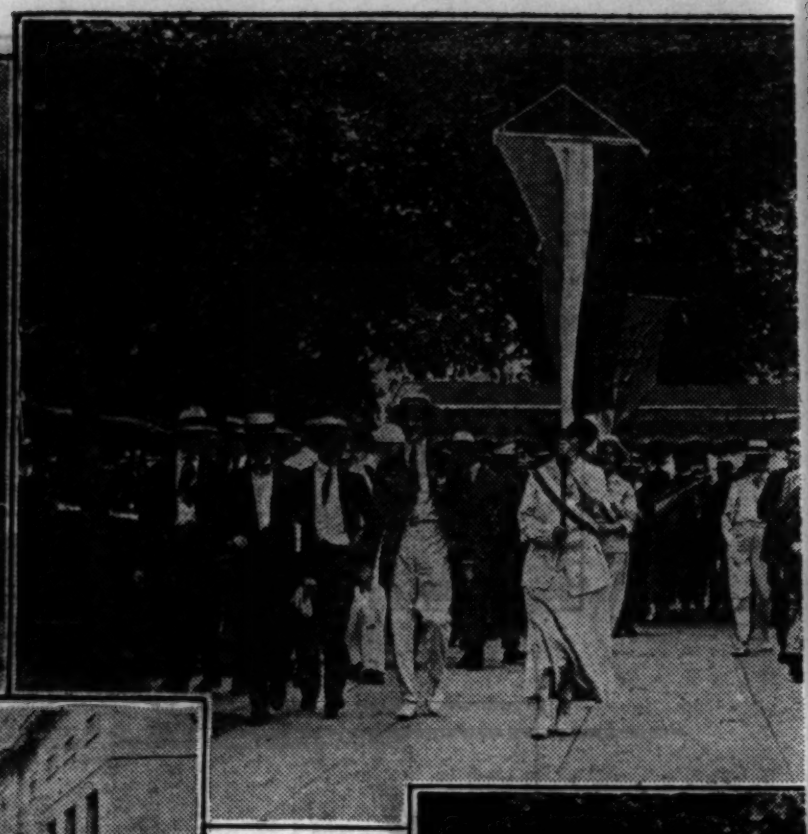
THROUGHOUT January and February the suffrage pickets stood on guard at the White House every day from ten o'clock to five-thirty. Through snow and rain and biting winds women from every state in the Union represented in the line the millions of unfree women who



March Fourth Deputation

could not come to the Capital themselves to picket. More than four hundred volunteers asked this chance to serve democracy.

On March fourth a thousand women came to the White House in a giant deputation to show the President one issue as he entered his second term that must be settled in it. This greatest deputation that ever appealed to the President, hundreds of the women being voters from the West, marched round and round the White House in a storm of icy rain for three hours—but were turned away from the gates with their petition. While the great picket stretched around the whole White House enclosure in the midst of silent, impressed crowds, President Wilson drove out through the line looking neither to right nor left at the women whose just demand for freedom he still dared to ignore. On that day the spirit to undergo prison or worse hardships for the sake of enfranchisement was kindled in hundreds of insulted women.



Fall of Bastille Day Picket

(Police swore they had to clear way for line)

Deputation at the Locked Gates

Rowdy Tears Down Banr

ON April 2, the extra war session of the Sixty-fifth Congress opened. Again the suffrage picket took up its stand, this time at the doors of Congress as well as of the leader of the Administration. As spring came on and the situation became more critical for war with Germany more and more people pouring into Washington saw the pickets on guard and were struck into thinking of this issue for democracy at home not yet settled.

Then on April 14 the United States declared war on Germany. "We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government," said President Wilson to Congress. And the National Woman's Party determined to keep up its campaign for suffrage as a war measure, that women might be included in this world democracy for which war was to be waged and because the need of giving women the vote in wartime had been testified to by every great European nation and had been proved a practical step in Canada, England, Russia and Denmark.

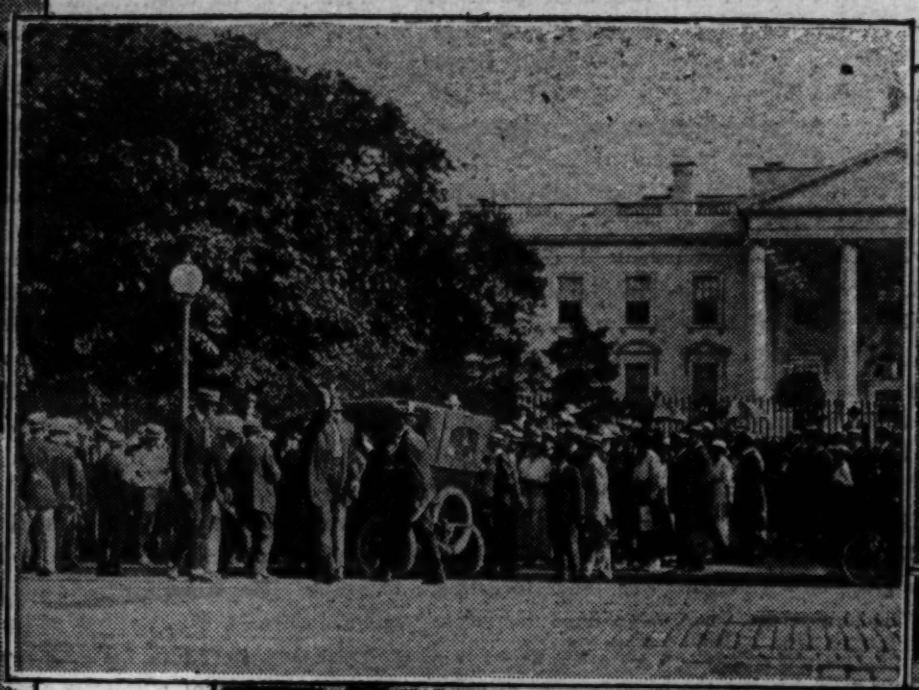
WHEN the picket line in this way threw spotlight on the Administration's demand that all governments be made representative governments—while it was not yet ready to give women in this country representation—the picket line was ordered stopped by the Administration. The first clash came in June. The picket line, on June 20 took advantage of the presence of the Russian mission to emphasize to the country the fact that in comparison with Russia we are not a free land. A "patriotic" bystander was allowed by the police looking on to tear down the banner, carried by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, and Miss Lucy Burns. On the next day the same banner was destroyed by the police themselves at the door of suffrage headquarters. And that night Major Pullman, head of the Washington police, ordered the National Woman's Party to stop picketing.

The right to petition the government is guaranteed by the Constitution. And picketing is legal in the District under the Clayton Act. Therefore the order of the police could be nothing but an illegal attempt to crush out a political movement distasteful to the government. What followed proved this to be the fact.

On June 22 Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Katherine Morey, of Massachusetts, carrying a banner often carried before—"We shall fight for the things we have always held nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments"—were arrested "for obstructing traffic." They were released on their personal recognizances to appear for trial but the case was never called.

On the 23rd Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore, were arrested at the White House, Miss Mabel Vernon, of Nevada, and Miss Virginia Arnold, of North Carolina, at the Capitol, carrying the same banner. These cases also were never tried.

On the 25th twenty women went to the White House gates with banners carried often before, "How long must women wait for liberty?" "Mr. President, you say liberty is the fundamental de-



Above—District Jail where Administration Imprisoned Suffragists

Below—Suffragist Shoved into "Black Maria"

Above—Crowd the Police Taught to Gather for an Arrest

Below—Picket Resumed Three Weeks in July when Administration Stopped Arresting

er Eyes of Police

mand of the human spirit," and the words of Susan B. Anthony, "We press our demand for the ballot at this time in no narrow, captious, or selfish spirit, but from purest patriotism, for the highest good of every citizen, for the safety of the republic and as a glorious example to the nations of the earth." The women arrested for carrying these banners, with the purple, white and gold were: Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Katherine Morey, Miss Virginia Arnold, Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Lavinia Dock, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Townsend Scott and Miss Gladys Greiner, of Maryland; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of Cincinnati; Miss Berta Crone, of California; Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Delaware; Miss Maude Jamison, of Virginia, and Miss Pauline Clarke, of New York. On the following day nine more were arrested, seven of the same women, with Miss Vivian Pierce, of California, and Miss Hazel Hunkins, of Montana, in addition. The cases of the twelve were set for trial June 26, but by some error of the Court only six of the women were notified. These were sentenced to three days in jail or twenty-five dollars fine.

The first suffrage prisoners in this country were: Miss Mabel Vernon, Miss Lavinia Dock, Mrs. Annie Arneil, Miss Katherine Morey, Miss Virginia Arnold and Miss Maude Jamison. After the trial the police court Judge was shown pictures of the police snatching the banners from the pickets on the wide, empty street in front of the White House, and said he could not have convicted the women if the pictures had been introduced as evidence.

ON "Independence Day" thirteen women were arrested with purple, white and gold flags and a banner inscribed "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Because the Judge at the former trial had said the reason the pickets were arrested was because they stood with their banners instead of keeping in motion, this line made no attempt to stop. Twenty-nine police, however, surrounded and arrested them, and the words from the Declaration of Independence. The women tried for this day's picketing and sentenced to $25 fine or three days in the District Jail were: Miss Vida Milholland, Miss Joy Young, Mrs. Francis Green, of New York; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Connecticut; Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, of Michigan; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of Ohio; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Lucile Shields, of Texas; Miss Gladys Greiner, of Maryland, and Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas. Miss Kitty Marion, of New York, arrested for selling THE SUFFRAGIST, and Miss Hazel Hunkins, arrested for trying to rescue a banner torn down by a little boy, were released without trial.

ON the 14th of June, Bastille Day, sixteen women carried to the White House banners repeating "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." They were Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, Miss Julia Hurlbut, Miss Minnie D. Abbot, New Jersey; Mrs. B. R. Kincaid, California; Mrs. Paul Reyneau, Michigan; Miss Anne Martin, Nevada; Mrs. Amelia Himes Walker, Maryland; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Miss Janet Fotheringham, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., New York; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, Washington; Miss Doris Stevens, Nebraska; Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania; and Miss Eleanor Calnan, Mrs. Louise P. Mayo, Massachusetts. After a trial of six hours in which the police were unable to shake the testimony of witnesses for the pickets that there was no crowd at the West gate and that the people who gathered to see the arrests at the East gate could have been moved on if the police had not deliberately let them gather, the Judge sentenced the women to sixty days in the government workhouse at Occoquan for criminals and incorrigibles. He gave

this sentence, he said, "to deter other women" from petitioning the President for liberty.

After serving three days of this sentence, while storms of protest swept the country, the women were "pardoned" unconditionally by President Wilson.

THE picket was resumed and for three weeks stood at the White House. On August 12 the police allowed a crowd of government clerks and men in sailors' uniform to attack the women, which started a series of riots covering four days, in which without the slightest interference from the police women were dragged and manhandled, $1,140 worth of banners destroyed and a shot fired through a window of headquarters. On one day the police themselves attacked pickets and tore up banners. The only arrests made were of two men who tried to defend women from attacks.

On August 17, word came that pickets would be again arrested, not if they obstructed traffic, but "if they picketed." Waiting until late afternoon when the dismissal of government clerks would give a semblance of a crowd for the pretext, "blocking traffic," the police under their new orders arrested six women who carried banners reading: "England and Russia are enfranchising women in wartime." "How long must women wait for liberty," and "The government orders our banners destroyed because they tell the truth." Miss Lavinia Dock, of the National Council of Nurses, who had served one sentence; Miss Edna Dixon, of Washington; Miss Natalie Gray, of Colorado; Mrs. William Upton Watson, and Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago; Miss Catherine Flanagan, of Connecticut, were sentenced to thirty days at Occoquan or a fine of ten dollars.

ON August 23, six more women were arrested, this time carrying sentences from President Wilson's writings, "I tell you solemnly, ladies and gentlemen, we cannot postpone justice any longer in these United States," and "I don't wish to sit down and let any man take care of me without my having at least a voice in it; and if he doesn't listen to my advice, I am going to make it as unpleasant for him as I can." They were: Mrs. Pauline Adams, and Mrs. Henry L. Lockwood, of Virginia; Mrs. Gertrude Hunter and Mrs. Clara Fuller, Minnesota; Miss Margaret Fotheringham, New York; Mrs. Kate Boeckh, Washington. A fine of $25 or thirty days was imposed. The Court of Appeals granted an appeal of these cases.

On August 28, the same women, with Miss Caroline Beach, of Kentucky; Miss Vivian Pierce, of California; Miss Maude Jamison, of Virginia; and Miss Lucy Burns were again arrested and given the same sentence. An appeal was granted them again, the Judge announcing that this was the last appeal he would give the picketing cases until a decision had been given by the Court of Appeals. The appeals will come up in the District Court on January 7.

ON September 4, the day of the parade of drafted men, thirteen women were arrested for carrying to President Wilson this banner: "Mr. President, how long must women be denied a voice in the government that is conscripting their sons?" They were: Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. Pauline Adams, Miss Margaret Fotheringham, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, of Washington; Miss Lucy Branham and Miss Julia Emory, of Baltimore; Miss Calnan, of Massachusetts; Miss Edith Ainge and Miss Maude Malone, of New York; Mrs. Dorothy Bartlett, of Connecticut; Mrs. Annie Arneil, of Delaware; Mrs. W. W. Chisholm and Miss Mary Winsor, of Pennsylvania. These women were sent to Occoquan for sixty days. This group offered no defense since it was known that beds and uniforms at Occoquan had been prepared for the pickets before the trial, and evidence had had no effect in the former trials.

The six pickets who went out on September 13 were given only a month. The Judge forgetting the "blocking traffic" charge explained this inconsistency of justice by saying: "I will give you a light sentence because the banners were so mild" —"Mr. President, what will you do for woman suffrage?" "How long must women wait for liberty?" Miss Katherine Fisher, and Mrs. Frederick Kendall, of New York; Miss Nina Samorodin and Miss Anna Gvinter, of Russia, now living in New York; Mrs. Mark Jackson, of Baltimore; and Miss Ruth Crocker, of Chicago, were the women sentenced.

THE next group went out on September 22, Mrs. Peggy Johns, of Missouri; Mrs. Margaret Kessler, of Colorado; Miss Ernestine Hara and Miss Hilda Blumborg, of New York, carrying these words of the President:

"We have seen a good many singular things happen recently. We have been told that it is unpatriotic to criticise public action. Well, if it is, then there is a deep disgrace resting upon the origin of this nation. This nation originated in the sharpest sort of criticism of public policy. We originated to put it in the vernacular, in a kick, and if it be unpatriotic to kick, why, then the grown man is unlike the child. We have forgotten the very principle of our origin if we have forgotten how to object, to resist, how to initiate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolutionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters. I have forgotten my history if that be not true history." They were given thirty days in the workhouse.

ON October 6, eleven pickets went out, were arrested, found guilty two days later and dismissed with suspended sentence. No reason was given for the government's change of front. The women were: Miss Alice Paul, Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado; Miss Vivian Pierce, Mrs. Louise Lewis Kahle, Rose Winslow and Miss Joy Young, of New York; Miss Matilda Young, of Washington; Miss Minnie Hennessy, of Connecticut; Miss Katherine Heffelfinger, of Pennsylvania; Miss Maude Jamison, of Virginia; Miss L. C. Daniels of Vermont.

A week later, on the 15th, four of these women, Miss Winslow, Miss Heffelfinger, Miss Hennessy, and Miss Jamison picketed again and were given the outrageous sentence of six months. They were kept in the District jail instead of being sent to Occoquan as the sentence read.

ON the 20th Alice Paul, Dr. Spencer, Miss Gladys Greiner, and Miss Gertrude Crocker picketed. They carried two new banners: "The time has come for us to conquer or submit. For us there can be but one choice. We have made it."—Mr. Wilson's slogan for the Second Liberty Bond Loan, and "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." Dr. Spencer and Miss Paul were given six months for this charge and one month for October 6. The four women already serving six months had another month added to their sentence for the October 6 charge. They were all lodged in the jail.

Government persecution of suffragists by imprisonment was early intensified by ill-treatment in prison. The suffragists, sentenced for purely political offenses, were not only not recognized as political prisoners; they were not even given the regular privileges of murderers and thieves. At one time this group of women was shut away in solitary confinement from all communication with the outside for two weeks. In order to enforce their demand for the status of political prisoners —with the right to see council and visitors, to buy food, to have writing materials, books and letters, to wear their own clothes and to be exempt from prison labor—Miss Paul and Miss Winslow went on hunger-strike, followed by Miss Crocker, Miss Greiner, Miss Heffelfinger and most of the women afterward imprisoned.

ON November 10 the protest of the women of the country against the government's continued ignoring of the amendment and the illegal imprisonment of suffragists was expressed in a picket line of forty-one women from fifteen states and the District of Columbia, who demanded, "Mr. President, in your message to Congress urge the passage of the federal amendment enfranchising women." These women were:

Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Miss Lucy Burns, District of Columbia.

Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Miss Belle Sheinberg, Miss L. H. Hornesby, Miss Paula Jakobi, Mrs. Cynthia Cohen, Miss M. Tilden Burritt, Miss Dorothy Day, Mrs. Henry Butterworth, Miss Cora Week, Mrs. P. B. Johns, Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, Mrs. Ella Guilford, Miss Amy Jungling, Miss Hattie Kruger, New York.

Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Mrs. William Bergen, Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, Miss Ella Findeisen, Massachusetts.

Miss L. C. Daniels, Vermont.

Mrs. George Scott, New Jersey.

Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Elizabeth McShane, Miss Catherine Lincoln, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. William Kent, California.

Miss Alice Gram, Miss Betty Gram, Oregon.

Mrs. R. B. Quay, Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Utah.

Mrs. Eva Decker, Mrs. Genevieve Williams, Colorado.

Mrs. Alice Cosu, Louisiana.

Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon, Miss Julia Emory, Maryland.

Concluded on Page 15

The Woman's Party and Congress During 1917

By Anne Martin, Legislative Chairman

IN January, 1917, the Susan B. Anthony amendment still rested on the Senate calendar, where it had remained without action since it was favorably reported by Senator Thomas in January, 1916, at the beginning of the 64th Congress. It was also on the calendar of the House, where it had been reported by the Judiciary Committee in December, 1916, following a year's struggle by the lobby of the National Woman's Party to secure this report. The 64th Congress ended in March without consideration of national woman suffrage.

AT the close of the 64th Congress we were not sure of a majority in either house. Of 96 votes in the Senate we counted on 42; of 435 votes in the House we counted on 180. At the beginning of 1918, the amendment is on the calendar of both houses and we have more than a majority of both houses pledged; we are, in fact, only a few votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority in both houses, with a vote probable in the house on January 10th. More than two-thirds of the Republicans in both houses have promised their votes. With two-thirds of the Democrats instead of slightly more than one-third now pledged in the House, the passage of the amendment will be assured. On the President and the Democratic Party rests responsibility for securing the few more votes necessary.

THIS wonderfully hopeful position has largely been won by the nation-wide campaign of the National Woman's Party, which has been centered upon the President and Congress. Under the zealous leadership of Miss Maud Younger, the lobby committee through constant and vigilant work, has kept in touch with every development in suffrage sentiment and support. During the year more than one hundred different members of the National Woman's Party, representing practically every state in the Union, have lobbied Congress.

Since the 65th Congress organized in April Congress has been lobbied for the following purposes: To learn the attitude of the eighty-nine new members of the House and of the sixteen new senators on the amendment; to urge Republican and Democratic leaders to have the suffrage amendment made part of the legislative program by both party caucuses; to ask the five independent members to use their power to secure favorable action on the Susan B. Anthony amendment; to ask non-commital and opposed members, who signed the cablegram asking Lloyd George for Irish freedom, to reconsider their position on the suffrage amendment; to ask favorable senators and representatives to make speeches for national suffrage as a war measure; to urge both Republican and Democratic leaders of the House to make every effort to secure the passage of the amendment if Representative Mann's effort to secure the discharge of the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the amendment succeeded on June 6; to secure speedy action by the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee and the House Judiciary Committee for a favorable report of the amendment; to secure a favorable report of the resolution to create a House Woman Suffrage Committee by the Rules Committee. A special lobby of men from presidential suffrage states and of all non-committal and opposed members was also conducted. Lobbies have also been carried on to ask the senators and representatives of imprisoned pickets to visit Occoquan and investigate the conditions under which their constituents were imprisoned, and to protest.

FOLLOWING the opening of the second session of the 65th Congress in December, a constant lobby by women of thirty-one different states has been kept up on non-committal and opposed representatives to vote for the amendment, and on favorable representatives to urge them to win votes from members of their party still non-committal or opposed. Congressmen have been lobbied following their vote upon the prohibition amendment. Favorable Democrats of both the Senate and House have been lobbied to call upon the President to urge him to give his support before the vote is taken.

In the month of April six hundred new lobby reports of congressmen were filed in the legislative department, copies of which were sent to the state chairmen of the Woman's Party, the legislative chairmen and congressional district chairmen concerned, that pressure might be brought from constituents. Considerably more than two thousand reports of congressmen have been filed during the year.

IN addition to the personal lobby a nation-wide letter and telegram lobby has been conducted upon Congress. Members of the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee and the House Judiciary Committee and of the House Rules Committee have been asked in numerous letters and telegrams from their constitutents for favorable reports of suffrage measures. Senators and representatives have been urged to protest against the unjust imprisonment of their constituents in Occoquan and at the district jail. The President and all Administration leaders have received a great number of letters and telegrams protesting against the illegal imprisonment of pickets and their treatment in prison and urging the speedy passage of the national amendment as a war measure. State chairmen, state legislative chairmen and congressional district chairmen throughout the country have received latest information about the stand of their representatives, in order that renewed pressure may be brought from their districts.

Many deputations to senators and representatives have been arranged by state and congressional district chairmen. Many protest and propaganda meetings have been held throughout the country. Large numbers of resolutions adopted at meetings and petitions on behalf of the amendment have been sent in to senators and representatives and inserted in the Congressional Record.

HEARINGS have been held before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, the House Committee on the Judiciary and the House Committee on Rules. The speakers included Mrs. Mary Beard, Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, Miss Madeline Doty, Miss Ernestine Evans, Miss Alice Carpenter, Mr. Dudley Field Malone, Representative Jeannette Rankin, Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Maude Younger, Mrs. Donald Hooker, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, Mr. Virgil Hinshaw, and Mr. John Spargo.

CONCRETE results have been obtained from this work upon Congress. As a direct result of our lobby, Senator Cummins, on August 1st, introduced a resolution to discharge the Senate Woman Suffrage Committee from further consideration of the amendment.

Senator Lewis, of Illinois; Senator Jones of New Mexico, and Representatives Baer, Lonergan, Timberlake, Elliott, Francis, Rankin and others visited the imprisoned suffragists at Occoquan. Representative Baer on August 17th introduced a resolution providing for an investigation of the treatment of the pickets by mobs and the conduct of the police during the August riots in front of the White House. The bill of Senator Myers of August 18th to legalize the arrest and imprisonment of pickets in the District of Columbia was not pushed. Representative Rankin introduced a resolution on October 5th providing for an investigation of conditions at Occoquan workhouse.

THE importance of suffrage as a national issue is shown by the frequency with which the amendment has come up during the year on the floors of Congress. On June 6th Representative Mann's effort to secure the discharge of the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the amendment was defeated by Majority Leader Kitchin's motion to adjourn before the discharge calendar was reached. On August 2nd the debate took place in the Senate on the Cummins resolution.

On September 15th, the amendment was reported favorably in the Senate by Senator Jones and took its place on the calendar.

On September 24th, the Rules Committee of the House reported favorably the resolution to create a Woman Suffrage Committee (the report was authorized on June 6th). Following a two-hour debate the resolution was adopted by a vote of 181 to 107.

Congress adjourned on October 6th to re-convene December 3rd, but work on the President, all Administration leaders and members of Congress from every state continued in the interim by means of letters, telegrams and resolutions sent from every state in the Union during our autumn nation-wide speaking campaign.

SINCE the re-convening of Congress on December 3rd national woman suffrage has frequently been the subject of debate in the House. On December 11th the Judiciary Committee voted to report the Raker resolution (House Joint Resolution I) without recommendation. Mr. Carlin filed the report of the resolution in the House on December 15th, with the amendment by the Judiciary Committee limiting the time for ratification to seven years.

On December 11th Mr. Kitchin, majority leader, announced that the woman suffrage amendment would probably be taken up after the prohibition amendment on December 18th. Our lobby made it clear to administration leaders that they were responsible for bringing it up at a time that its passage was assured.

On December 13th, upon motion by Mr. Kitchin, the following Democrats were elected members of the newly created Committee on Woman Suffrage: Representatives Raker, Saunders, Clark, Hilliard, Mays, Sullivan and Blanton. The Republicans elected upon motion by acting Minority Leader Gillett, were Representatives Rankin, Mondell, Carter, Meeker, Little and Elliott. Mr. Meyer London's motion to have his name substituted for that of Mr. Sullivan was rejected.

On December 14th, Mr. Kitchin asked unanimous consent that consideration of the constitutional amendment on woman suffrage be made the order of the day on January 7th. Mr. Walsh objected.

On December 15th, following the report of the Raker resolution by Mr. Carlin, of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Raker moved that all House joint resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution conferring woman suffrage be transferred from the Committee on the Judiciary to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. The Speaker ruled that since the Judiciary Committee had already reported the Raker resolution to the House it could not be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage and Mr. Raker's motion was not in order. Mr. Webb asked unanimous consent to vote on the suffrage resolution on December 18th; Mr. Lunn objected. Mr. Raker asked unanimous consent to consider the suffrage amendment on January 7th; Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, objected. Mr. Dyer asked unanimous consent to file a favorable minority report on the national suffrage amendment, which was granted.

On December 17th, Mr. Raker introduced a resolution transferring the jurisdiction of House Joint Resolution I from the calendar to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules.

ON December 18th, Mr. Kitchin asked unanimous consent to increase the membership of the Woman Suffrage Committee from 13 to 14, and that Representative Meyer London be made a member of the committee. Mr. Garrett, of Tennessee, objected. Following a motion by Mr. Raker to secure custody by the Woman Suffrage Committee of all suffrage resolutions excepting House Joint Resolution I, which was on the calendar, the Speaker ruled that all suffrage resolutions might be re-introduced and that they would then be referred to the Suffrage Committee. Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell all re-introduced their resolutions which were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

On December 18th, Mr. Raker also moved to transfer the Raker and French resolutions dealing with the right of women to register and vote for members of Congress, from the Committee on Election to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. This motion was adopted by a vote of 234 to 107.

ON December 18th, the Rules Committee met to consider resolutions introduced on December 17th by Mr. Webb and Mr. Raker. Mr. Raker's resolution provided for the transfer of his resolution for the constitutional amendment, House Joint Resolution I, from the House calendar to the Committee on Woman Suffrage. Mr. Webb's resolution provided for a debate on the Raker suffrage resolution (House Joint Resolution I) on January 10th. The two points for settlement brought before the committee by these resolutions were first, the date for a vote, and second, which committee, the Judiciary or the Woman Suffrage Committee, should have jurisdiction over the amendment and control of the time when the vote is taken.

The Rules Committee met the first point by agreeing to go before the House asking for the adoption of a rule for a debate and vote on the national suffrage amendment on January 10th, but left open the matter of the resolution to be debated. Chairman Raker has announced that hearings will be held by the Woman Suffrage Committee beginning January 3rd.

WITH only a few votes lacking for the necessary two-thirds majority in both houses, the outlook is bright for the passage of the amendment early this session. A lobby has been conducted since the opening of Congress to impress upon Administration leaders their responsibility for bringing the amendment to a vote at a time when the party in power is certain of the necessary two-thirds majority to ensure its passage.

General Growth of the Woman's Party

DURING 1917 the Congressional Union, formed in 1913 to work for the federal amendment for woman suffrage, and the National Woman's Party, formed for the same purpose by women in the voting states prior to the 1916 presidential elections, amalgamated at their annual conventions in Washington in March. The fusion organization took the name of the National Woman's Party and turned its united strength to the amendment fight.

During the year the National Woman's Party has extended into every state of the Union. South Dakota, Oklahoma, Iowa, Nebraska, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Kentucky, South Carolina, West Virginia, Florida Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi have this year formed branches of the Party. In the states already organized enormous intensive organization has gone steadily forward—the filling out of state boards, the organization of Congressional Districts, counties and precincts. An organization drive in the South during March and April, a motor tour through the Pacific coast states in May, with this definite aim, and the national speaking tour into every state during the Congressional recess in October and November which everywhere inspired organization, brought hundreds of active new officers into the work and thousands of members. Many states have kept a national organizer steadily at work; others have financed one for intensive work for a few months.

BESIDES the regular growth of the organization in itself, there has been enormous growth of membership through the coming in of many separate suffrage organizations. The entire Just Government League of Maryland, numbering 15,000 members has amalgamated with the Woman's Party. Five hundred active members of the Central Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, the New Castle Equal Suffrage League of Indiana, are other suffrage organizations that have joined the Party. The special appeal of the Woman's Party for positive, political work has as always had great influence on the young suffragists of the country; the Nebraska University branch of the Party is a spirited group formed in November to help the suffrage fight in the middle West.

At headquarters every department has extended and new departments have been formed to fill new needs, notably the organization department, to direct the work of national organizers, coordinate the work of speakers, and give all possible help to state branches; and the political department, to work with the heads of organizations of every kind for support for the amendment.

THE growth of the Woman's Party is nowhere so strikingly proved as by the report of the Treasurer. In 1916 receipts were $111,147.04; in this year they have increased to $131,959.43, a gain of nearly $21,000. How far the aggressive policy of the Party was responsible for this increase is interestingly shown by the fact that in July 1916 the total receipts were $3,690, while in July of this year, when the attacks of the Administration on the pickets started, receipts mounted to $21,623.65. The financial gain of the year is much greater than the figures indicate, since more and more state branches are constantly becoming self-supporting, financing their own organizers and speakers completely. Many states, like New Jersey, New York, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Utah, Delaware and Maryland, are not only entirely self-supporting, but are able to contribute to National Headquarters generously from their treasuries.

Comments of the Press

Mr. Raker Predicts Victory

CHAIRMAN Raker, of the House Committee on Woman Suffrage, tonight predicted a victory for the resolution submitting to the state the woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution, when it is voted on January 10. His forecast is made from a poll of the members, which, he said, had been brought up to date. He declined to state the exact figures.

"We will have more than the necessary two-thirds," he said. "We have information right up to date, and I believe we will win."—*New York World, December 26.*

Political Considerations

DEVELOPMENTS in the suffrage campaign continue to indicate a quiet drift toward the federal amendment. Whether the drift is of such proportions as to assure the passage of the amendment in the House on January 10 is hard to say but suffrage leaders today predicted that the measure would go through.

They base their prediction upon the political sagacity of a block of heretofore anti-suffrage members who face the necessity of being re-elected next year, upon an almost confirmed belief that the Administration is quietly swinging its followers into line for the proposition and, in a lesser degree upon the reaction of anti-prohibition members to the passage of the prohibition amendment last week. Without the Southern Democratic vote, opposed to woman suffrage the prohibition measure could not have been passed.

Political considerations are figuring largely in the decisions of Representatives. The New York delegation, which, prior to the recent sweep for suffrage in that state, would have voted in the main against the measure, is expected to vote almost solidly for it now.

Immense propaganda efforts in every state have filled the mails of doubtful members with demands from their districts that they support the proposition.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger, December 24.*

Let Congress Pass the Woman Suffrage Amendment Promptly

CONGRESS will debate the woman suffrage amendment on January 10. This marks one more stage of progress in the long struggle which the women of the nation have waged in Congress for a recognition by the nation of their rights as citizens of the United States, a struggle which began while the 14th amendment was pending in 1866.

The first section of the 14th amendment, which declares that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof as citizens," and follows with the prohibition that "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States," seems on its face to guarantee to women as well as men the fundamental right of a share in the government. But doubt was cast upon this natural construction by the second section of the amendment, which undertakes to penalize the denial of the right of suffrage to MALE citizens and seems thereby to base the right of suffrage upon sex; and this adverse construction received the sanction of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1875. In 1878 the suffrage amendment now pending was introduced by Senator Sargent, of California, and it has been presented to every Congress since then with one exception. During this period of almost forty years there have been seven favorable and nine adverse committee reports, only three of which resulted in a serious contest in either branch. In 1887 the resolution was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 16 ayes and 34 noes. In 1914 it received in the Senate 35 ayes and 34 noes, failing of passage for lack of the necessary two-thirds majority. In the House in 1915 it was rejected by a vote of 174 ayes and 204 noes.

After the defeat of the resolution in the Senate in 1887 the suffragists for many years confined their efforts to campaign for equal suffrage in the different states, for a long time with little or no result. Up to 1910 there had been twenty such state campaigns and only two of them had been successful. Since 1910 there have been fifteen state campaigns and still only a fourth of the states of the Union have granted the women the full right of citizenship. In the meantime Ontario and all the western provinces of Canada have extended equal suffrage to their women, and even in Great Britain, where suffrage reform has always been extremely slow, a marked revulsion of public sentiment in favor of equal suffrage has been brought about by the splendid services and patriotic devotion of the women of the Empire during the war, and the reform is evidently on the eve of complete success.

Women already vote in twelve states comprising one-half the territory of the United States. Therefore they vote for President and Congress in more than half the territory of the nation. It is absurd that they should be denied the right in the rest of the country. Very little is gained in a grudging, halting concession of a clear right. Congress ought to submit the woman suffrage amendment in a liberal, whole hearted way which would receive the approval of the nation.—*The New York American, Dec. 27.*

Suffrage and Prohibition

A DAY each to the suffrage question and the prohibition question is the House allowance. It is enough. Both questions have been under discussion for years. Both are well understood in all phases. The House is probably ready for a roll call on each. No speeches, however eloquent, will do more now than answer for their authors. . . . As voting time approaches, interest and activities increase, and two lively days on Capitol Hill are guaranteed.—*Washington (D. C.) Star, December 7.*

Mr. Raker Makes a Statement

PRESIDENT Wilson is in favor of equal suffrage. A majority of the members of his cabinet advocate the passage of the equal suffrage amendment. Theodore Roosevelt, the most rabid foe of Prussianism, the most uncompromising advocate of vigorous prosecution of the war, the busiest agitator for universal military training in this country, is a pioneer in the cause of equal suffrage.—*The Washington (D. C.) Post, December 26.*

Another Political Angle

THE House Committee on Rules today agreed informally to report a special rule soon after the holiday recess to vote, January 10, on submitting the woman suffrage amendment. This meets the approval of the suffragists. They believe their chance for victory is good.

Suffragists were encouraged today by reports that some anti-Prohibitionists in Congress, who have been opposed to suffrage, are preparing to take revenge on the Prohibitionists, many of whom oppose suffrage. Suffragists claim they have gained votes since the result on prohibition was announced.—*The New York World, December 19.*

The Breaking Lines

SPEAKER Clark's pledge of activity for the measure and his announcement that he will vote for it if necessary have softened the attitude of some of the old-line Democrats. The statements by Secretaries McAdoo, Baker, Daniels and Lane back up the report that the Administration had decided to line up every vote to remove the suffrage issue and make the way easier to retain control of the next House.—*Philadelphia Public Ledger, December 24.*

Campaign Cry for the Woman's Party

THE amendment will be passed early this winter both by the House and the Senate. Should there be a disappointment—should the majority fall short of the necessary two-thirds—the Woman's Party is ready with a policy.

The plan in that case would be to organize strongly in the states where women vote and to work against the Congressmen and Senators of the party in power. The margin by which the Democrats hold their power in the House of Representatives is very small, and the loss of a number of their Congressmen from the West and from New York might be serious. This policy was inaugurated in 1914, when the Congressional Union—as it was then named—managed to defeat at least three Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives. Thanks to the arbitrary conduct of the authorities at Washington the National Woman's Party has now in hand campaign material a thousand times more effective than the cry with which they went to the country in 1914.—*Bridgeport (Conn.) Dec. 16.*

The South Aroused

SO much surprise among our most conservative citizens has been expressed since the astounding revelations in regard to the treatment of American women imprisoned in Washington for political offenses that requests have been made from most unexpected sources—from some of the influential opponents to the suffrage issue, as well as from its friends—that the Gulfport public be kept informed. They say, regardless of the question at issue, the main thing for Southern gentlemen to consider with the gravest concern is that such a thing as the violent mistreatment of gentlewomen, some of them with sons and husbands already in the trenches, is actually going on today.

We of the South have been as loud in our proud boast as any section of our land, that this was a free country; freedom for religious thought; freedom from political oppression; freedom in all things that made for our pursuance of life, liberty and happiness. And this very knowledge has made for a colossal national loyalty.

We have not been whipped and driven like the quarry slave, but we have stood forth in the light of freedom, unoppressed for political opinions or religious beliefs. For the first time in our national history we have political prisoners in our Capital City. The authorities have been unable to name the crime for which the offenders have been convicted. They have held banners before the White House gates—a privilege provided for by the laws of the District. They have moved on when they have been commanded to do so. They have done no treasonable act in keeping before the eyes of our nation's lawmakers their personal appeal for political justice. The point has been made, and that by an "anti," that if the only two objectionable banners displayed by the Woman's Party even approached treason, the national authorities should and doubtless would have taken it up at that time. But the fact was and still remains that the banners were not treasonable, but were highly displeasing to certain public offifficials in Washington. The question has been asked repeatedly on our city streets in the past week: "Why do not the relatives of the imprisoned women enter protest?"

When a certain line of action is undertaken for the purpose of achieving a set desired result, it would be conduct unworthy of the cause to "squeal" and beg for mercy before the result had been attained. These women, with convictions as strong as any patriot ever possessed when his life was demanded for his country's good, did not bear their banners before the White House gates without first counting the price of imprisonment and ill-treatment. Having counted that cost to its last toll of misery, they have continued their way unresisting, determined to exemplify their strength to defend the right as they see it, even to the extent of giving their health, freedom and life if so it be.—*The Gulfport-Biloxi (Miss.) Herald.*

Turn About is Fair Play

THE National Woman's Party had its laugh yesterday when the police reserves were called out, not to arrest pickets, but to chase away thousands of law-abiding enthusiasts from the Belasco, where they had gathered to see the pickets.

The eloquence of Dudley Field Malone and the sight of militants who have "done a stretch" at Occoquan or Dr. Zinkham's District jail, so stirred the audience that it contributed or pledged $86,000 to the campaign to pass the federal suffrage amendment.

And when the vast crowd outside began to get impatient and to insist on seeing the show, the suffragettes simply had Maj. Pullman and his assistants execute the maneuvers which they have so long practiced before the White House.—*Patriot Phalanx, December 21.*

Flame of Rebellion

POLICE reserves were called into action this afternoon to hold back a crowd of enthusiastic persons who besieged the Belasco Theatre, where a mass meeting in honor of the White House pickets was in progress. An overflow meeting was held outside the theatre for those who were unable to get inside and pledges totaling $86,326 were made by men and women in the audience to the cause of suffrage.

The meeting was presided over by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, who called upon Dudley F. Malone for a speech. He called attention to the fact that the world owed the pickets honor and devotion, for, he said, they had "marched in the face of the world and refused to let it forget democracy." At the conclusion of Malone's speech 97 pickets who had served sentences marched in two lines down the side aisles, carrying the banners with which they were arrested.

Joining at the front of the theatre, the pickets marched up the steps to the stage, where they spread their banners out against the purple background and took seats in rows behind the speakers. Then Mrs. Kent, wife of the former Representative from California, presented each with a pin, a replica of the cell door at the District jail.

Mrs. Belmont in her speech called attention to the fact that a "flame of rebellion is abroad among women, and the stupidity and brutality of the government in meeting this revolt have served only to increase its heat."—*Philadelphia Record, December 10.*

The Result of the Picket

THANKS to the tremendous dramatization of the suffrage struggle which was enacted before the gates of the White House and in the political prisons of the District of Columbia during the last half of this year, the adoption by Congress in the first half of the coming year of the Susan B. Anthony amendment is now almost assured.—*New York Call, December 21.*

No More "Solid South"

THE surprise of the vote on the amendment will probably be the number of Southern representatives who will vote for it. The South is no longer the "solid South" on the woman suffrage question. There were votes from the South as long ago as 1915 when the amendment received its first vote on January 12 in the House of Representatives. But the thing that has made more impression on Southern representatives than anything else is the treatment that has been accorded to respectable white women in Occoquan workhouse. The chivalry of the South towards white women is touched to the quick at the idea of their women—well known women from Southern cities—being herded with negro prostitutes and compelled to paint the floors of the colored women's toilets. This is a degradation similar to that imposed by the Germans in South Africa at the beginning of the war when they took British and French prisoners. They did their utmost to degrade these prisoners in the eyes of the natives and similar "atrocities" perpetrated in Washington have aroused similar feeling of disgust and opposition.—*Hartford (Conn.) Globe, Dec. 16.*

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List of Contributions from December 20 Through December 27, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Flora Macdonald Dennison	5.00
Mr. John Pries	10.00
Mrs. Elizabeth M. Wilson	3.00
Mrs. Rosella S. Bayhi	5.00
Mrs. Howard Gould	2,500.00
Miss Gertrude Whitaker	5.00
Mrs. Elizabeth Hepburn	10.00
Mrs. Alfred S. Rossin	25.00
Miss Linda Freeman	10.00
Mrs. Huntington Jackson	4.00
Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood	125.00
Mrs. Pauline F. Adams	5.00
Mrs. Mary K. Scott	50.00
Mrs. Carrie Wright	1.00
Miss Louise Middleton	5.00
Mr. H. S. Howard	10.00
Per California Branch:	
Miss Alicia Mosgrove	10.00
Miss M. M. Morgan	5.00
Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Miss Lavinia L. Dock	5.00
Dr. Miriam M. Butt	10.00
Dr. Sarah H. Lockrey	10.00
Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy	300.00
Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Mrs. Robert Adamson	25.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons	5.00
Collections	7.25
Membership Fees	6.25
Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 3,156.50
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$291,804.05
Total collected by National Headquarters through Dec. 27, 1917	$294,960.55

Contributions Made to California Headquarters:

Miss Torrey Everett	10.00
Mrs. Edwin Greble	10.00
Contributions made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:	
Miss Mary H. Ingham	1.75
Mr. Shippen Lewis	155.00
Mrs. G. O. Martin	1.00
Total collected by State Branches	177.75
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	$ 42,773.42
Total collected by Branches through Dec. 27, 1917	$ 42,951.17
Grand Total	$337,911.72
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	$ 2,261.00
Grand Net Total	$335,650.72

The National Woman's Party in 1917

Concluded from Page 10

Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, Florida.
Mrs. Charles W. Barnes, Indiana.
Mrs. Kate Stafford, Oklahoma.
Mrs. J. H. Short, Minnesota.
Mrs. A. N. Beim, Mrs. Catherine Martinette, Iowa.

They were found guilty on the 12th and dismissed without sentence.

Half-an-hour later thirty-one women again stood before the White House, twenty-seven of those just tried and four in addition, Mrs. William Colt and Miss Hilda Blumborg, of New York; Miss Elizabeth Smith and Miss Matilda Young, of the District. Arrested, their case was the next day postponed by the Court until the end of the week. On the afternoon of the 13th the thirty-one again picketed. This time the authorities mustered courage to imprison the women, and they were given sentences of from six days to six months as follows:

Six Days—Mrs. Mary A. Nolan.

Fifteen Days—Miss Lucy Daniels, Miss Matilda Young, Miss Hilda Blumborg.

Thirty Days—Miss Belle Sheinberg, Mrs. L. F. Hornesby, Mrs. Paula Jacobi, Miss Dorothy Day, Mrs. Henry Butterworth, Miss Cora Week, Mrs. P. B. Johns, Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, Miss Hattie Kruger, Miss Amy Jungling, Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Miss Ella Findeison, Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, Miss Catherine Lincoln, Miss Betty Gram, Miss Alice Gram, Mrs. R. B. Quay, Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Mrs. C. W. Barnes, Mrs. J. H. Short, Mrs. Kate Stafford, Miss Julia Emory Mrs. Alice Cosu, and Mrs. George Scott.

Sixty Days—Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Mrs. John Winters Brannan.

Six Months—Miss Lucy Burns.

On the 17th three more women were sentenced to fifteen days on the November 10 charges, Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. William Kent and Miss Elizabeth McShane. The prisoners were sentenced to the jail. All except the last three, however, and Mrs. Hilda Blumborg, were sent to Occoquan.

THE thirty-one prisoners taken to Occoquan had a policy of terrorization, starvation, and solitary confinement used against them. They retaliated with a hunger-strike. After seven days Mrs. Lewis and Miss Burns were removed for forcible feeding to the District jail, where Miss Paul and Miss Winslow had refused food for nearly a month. The increasingly alarming accounts of the weakness of the women, and the brutality of the warden, and the refusal of council to the prisoners made habeas corpus proceedings necessary. The writ was procured after every possible attempt to block it from the authorities.

The case coming up in the United States District Court at Alexandria, Virginia, on November 23, with Judge Edmund Waddill sitting, established the fact that the suffragists were illegally committed to Occoquan after being sentenced to the District Jail, and that they had been there maltreated. Their recommitment was ordered. They were brought into Washington to the jail, where the government was faced with the necessity of feeding forcibly nearly the entire group of weakened women. The result came quickly—on the 27th and the 28th all suffrage prisoners were released from prison.

THE White House picket focused the eyes of the country upon national woman suffrage.

The illegal persecution of suffragists by the government roused a storm of protest from one end of the country to the other.

With all the forces of a strong organization, the National Woman's Party turned the advantage won by the picket to account with public opinion, with Congress and with the Democratic Party. A nation-wide tour of Woman's Party speakers during the autumn recess of Congress carried the truth about the picket campaign to every state, and a flood of publicity, of resolutions from mass meetings in favor of putting an end to the suffrage fight by passing the amendment, of letters of protest to the President and Administration leaders was started up that had to command attention from the Administration.

The results were: the release of the prisoners, and immediate action upon the federal amendment.

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Gratia Shipman Erickson	1
Alice Henkle	2
Mrs. Frank C. Payne	1
Miss Marjorie Sherrill	1
Miss Florence Hoge	1
Miss M. G. Fendall	1
Miss Alice Paul	1
Mrs. B. H. Papandre	1
Minnie D. Abbott	1
Miss Ella Nelson	1
Margaret Whittemore	1
Romaine S. Peter	5
Miss Editha Phelps	2
Kate C. Stafford	1
Mrs. E. M. Jarrett	1
Margery Ross	1
Mrs. L. O. Bennett	1
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